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A FRUSTRATED NATION

'Fire Dulles' demand grows as U.S. sees foreign policy folly

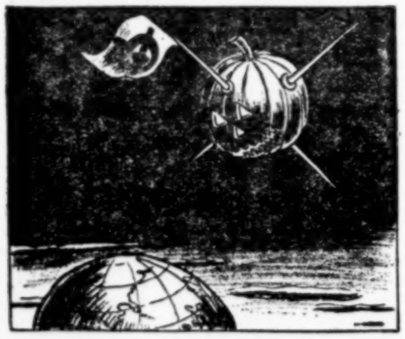
By Kumar Goshal

THERE IS A growing awareness in the U.S. of the dangerous folly of Washington's foreign policy, based as it is on "massive retaliation" and dealing with the socialist world from a "position of strength." This awareness was greatly heightened by Soviet Russia's missile development—demonstrated by the sputnik spinning around the earth. It made a mockery of the slogans constantly repeated by Secy. of State Dulles.

Because neither major political party has offered any constructive alternative, a sense of frustration pervades the country. Panic about the future caused the stock market to tumble to its lowest point in more than two years. It also led to wild speculation over Moscow's laconic report that Marshal Zhukov had been relieved of his duties as Soviet Defense Minister. (At GUARDIAN press time there was no information about any future role for Zhukov.)

REPLACEMENT URGED: The frustration has led to a widespread demand that "Dulles must go." Columnist Joseph Alsop (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**) urged President Eisenhower to "find another secretary of state." Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) echoed the suggestion. Explaining "Why Dulles Must Go," the N.Y. **Post** said (10/16): "He has mingled unctuous morality with devious legalisms, peaceful pieties with arrogant threats, lofty principles with shameless expediencies . . . International cynics distrust his seeming highmindedness while ordinary men are troubled by his card tricks . . . Dulles has fashioned rigid military formations to deal with problems that cried out for political and economic treatment. . . . A hungry peasant in India neither needs nor seeks a Philadelphia lawyer."

An editorial in the Republican **Herald Tribune** said (10/24): "Dulles now has diminished confidence among our chief allies."



United Mine Workers Journal
BOO!

EUROPEAN VIEW: In the Washington **Post** (9/8), Prof. J. Barents of the political science faculty of the University of Amsterdam, echoing common West European opinion, said:

"To a European observer it is sometimes not without amusement to note that [President Eisenhower apparently regards] the Secretary of State . . . as a statesman who encompasses all horizons and who will probably go down in history as one who dominated the 20th century. Mr. Dulles has a gift for a happy phrase which too often later turns out to be unhappy . . . It is unnecessary to repeat all the criticism about catchwords like 'folding back the iron curtain' and 'massive retaliation' . . . The strange image of Mr. Dulles in European minds has many facets, and every time you look at it, it is less reassuring."

Dulles, however, has gone his way, apparently impervious to all criticism, embroidering his policy of "massive retaliation" with nuclear weapons for Washington's allies. In an article in **Foreign Affairs** (Oct., '57), Dulles included, as eligible for such arms, allies "around the Sino-Soviet perimeter." This means such desperate dictators as Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. He wrote this in the face of important disclosures by the authoritative technical magazine **Aviation Week.** The magazine said that a U.S. radar system in Turkey has been monitoring Soviet ballistic missile tests for two years, and indicated that Washington has long been aware of Moscow's progress in developing ICBM weapons.

MACMILLAN'S VISIT: Dulles' hand was also seen in the final communique issued

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WELL, FOSTER, IT LOOKS LIKE ALL THE WORLD'S A BRINK
The Commander-in-Chief and his Secretary of State contemplate the condition of American statecraft after 10 Cold War years

ACTION ON TWO OTHERS AWAITED

High Court turns down one of 3 Sobell appeals

ONE OF THREE MOTIONS seeking a new trial for Morton Sobell was rejected without comment by the Supreme Court on Oct. 28. Two other appeals based on new evidence since his conviction in 1951 are still pending and were unaffected by the latest ruling.

The rejected appeal sought cancellation of a Supreme Court order of 1952 denying a review of defense contentions that the trial jury was prejudiced by the prosecution through improper cross-examination of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg concerning her use of the Fifth Amendment in an earlier appearance before a grand jury. The high court has since ruled against such questioning.

The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. Morton Sobell, a co-defendant, is serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz. The Supreme Court has refused six times before to review the case.

COMMITTEE STILL HOPEFUL: The appeals still to be acted upon are based on the charge that Sobell was illegally kidnaped in Mexico and returned to this country in violation of a U.S. treaty with Mexico, and that the prosecution knowingly used false evidence against him.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell said of the new ruling:

"The motion rejected today was one of three appeals of Morton Sobell now before the Supreme Court. While we are disappointed with today's decision, we continue to hope that the Supreme Court will review the case on the basis of the new evidence. We have every hope that the Court will agree to give this case the review it so clearly requires."

HOUSE OF LABOR SUSPENDS ITS BIGGEST AFFILIATE

Meany to Teamsters: Oust Hoffa to get back in

By Lawrence Emery

GEORGE MEANY, one-time plumber from the Bronx and a long-time labor leader who boasts he never had anything to do with a strike, is now a pillar of rectitude in American society. Among other things, he is currently an accredited delegate of a Republican Administration to the United Nations. His latest claim to acceptance in the highest circles came on Oct. 19. On that day, together with New York Mayor Wagner and James P. McGranery, a former Attorney General, he was awarded an honorary degree by St. John's University.

In his acceptance speech, he recalled regretfully that a wave of strikes had followed World War II and blamed them for arousing public opinion in support of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act. He noted that accusations by the McClellan committee have again aroused public hostility to labor and said: "I think there is rather more justification for public resentment this time. We feel ashamed by the presence in our movement of officials who have misused union funds."

MEANY'S THREAT: Five days later Meany relieved his sense of shame by forcing the suspension from the AFL-CIO of its largest affiliate, the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, on charges of corruption brought by the Senate committee. The vote of the federation's executive council was 25 to 4. Earlier speculation that the suspension move might fail of the required two-thirds vote collapsed when, inside sources say, Meany threatened to resign as AFL-CIO president if the drastic reprisal was not accepted. The "No" votes came from John F. English, IBT secretary-treasurer; Herman Winter, president emeritus of the Bakery & Confectionery Workers; Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; and William C. Doherty, president of the Natl. Assn. of Letter Carriers.

IBT president-elect James R. Hoffa, who with two other union officials ap-

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REPORT TO READERS

Abel and Sobell

THE GREAT BROOKLYN SPY TRIAL is over; and, as anyone might have predicted, an alleged Russian national named Rudolf Ivanovich Abel has been convicted on three counts of espionage. There was scarcely a chance that it could have ended any other way, as the Government must have surmised when it undertook the prosecution. It is hardly possible to conceive of an American jury in these times refusing to convict a Russian accused by the United States of espionage.

Yet Abel is a most unlikely spy, and the alleged accomplice, Reino Hayhanen, who was the principal witness against him, is also a most unlikely spy, although a thoroughly despicable character in all other respects. Reporters at the trial found it hard to take either of these alleged secret agents seriously. The general impression seemed to be that the Russians must be pretty hard up for material, if these were indeed Soviet spies. No one knows what kind of information they were supposed to be collecting. The Government did not have to disclose any such evidence, if it had any, to get a conviction.

IF THERE ARE INDEED any genuine spies around, representing any foreign power or just collecting tidbits and peddling them to any interested buyer, we certainly think they ought to be rounded up and packed off home on the first boat. We think other countries ought to do the same thing with U.S. spies, whenever caught.

But our FBI's record is still spotless in this respect. They have never yet caught a spy in the act; only when some renegade talebearer like Reino Hayhanen, for whatever reasons, has put the finger on an alleged accomplice. Not that the FBI hasn't tried. The Bureau told a N.Y. **Times** reporter only last month that they planted classified information on Judy Coplon so they could say they had caught someone in the act—only Miss Coplon didn't pass the information to anybody.

NOBODY IN HIS RIGHT MIND could argue that the U.S. has been made any the more secure by the Rudolf Abel trial; so what was the point of staging it with all the paperback trappings when Abel could simply have been deported with no fuss, no muss.

We think the point was to poison the air surrounding the appeal of Morton Sobell to the Supreme Court for a new trial, particularly by having the captive witness Hayhanen bring Mrs. Sobell's name into his testimony as a spy prospect.

This is a very old G-man trick. Warren K. Billings, who was freed after 23 years in jail in the Tom Mooney labor frameup (and who is now one of the staunchest supporters of a new trial for Morton Sobell), recalls that whenever he and Mooney made motions for a new trial, paid government witnesses invariably appeared to lie further about them.

A Justice Dept. which used every foul means, including manipulating the Supreme Court in 1953, to prevent a review of the Rosenberg-Sobell Case (and has never since ceased trying to cover up the flaws in the case), will certainly stop at nothing to prevent a final airing through a new trial for Morton Sobell.

THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG
USM

A griped Scotch soul

ST. LOUIS, MO.

These spy stories get weirder and weirder. Morton Sobell is convicted in March, 1951, of "conspiracy to commit espionage" for Russia. In 1955 Russia sends Reino Hayhanen here to recruit Mrs. Morton Sobell as an agent and to give her $5,000. He is unable to deliver the $5,000 because her apartment is guarded by police so he buries it in Bear Mountain Park.

I agree with Mrs. Roosevelt that it is unwise to underestimate the intelligence of one's rivals and I cannot offhand think of anything more stupid than to use as a spy a woman who is being watched by the police.

The Russians are not that stupid, nor are the American people stupid enough to believe such tales. But what really gripes my Scotch soul is the idea of burying $5,000. Why couldn't he have spent it on riotous living—vodka cocktails and beautiful blondes? Then at least he could have had some fun and maybe had his imagination stimulated so he could have come up with a more plausible story.

Clara Perkins

P.S.—Another thing that worries me is that our FBI didn't catch even such an ineffective spy—he had to turn himself in.

The reason why

SITKA, ALASKA

Some U.S. newspapers say Russia stole the documents for the satellite from the U.S.A. through cooperation of subversives in the U.S.A. The real reason why Russia is first to have an earth satellite and an ICBM is on account of the "witch-hunting" in the U.S.A. and its falsely imprisoning and accusing of many of our top ranking scientists and men of ability.

Owen C. Rademacher

Frogs and men

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Readers of the GUARDIAN might be interested in hearing about the frogs in a small pool into which the waste from the Amsterdam Institute for Atomic Research is dumped. I quote from an editorial "The Frogs and Men" from the daily **Neues Oesterreich** of Vienna.

"Horrible monstrosities of frogs were recently found in a small pool near Amsterdam: some had only three legs and a fourth oversized one, on others the hind legs grew out behind their heads while on other frogs the hind legs were reversed so that they could only jump backwards. Some frogs had two heads, others were of enormous size while others were dwarfed to the size of a fingernail."

In the third paragraph the editorial says in an underlined sentence: "One must suspect that these highly disturbing experimental consequences are kept secret so they will not endanger the atomic armament."

O. C. Jungwirth

Behind Billy Graham

CHICAGO, ILL.

On the political and economic aspects of the Billy Graham phenomenon, there exists in disorganized Protestantism two main streams, and they run in opposite directions. One branch flows straight to the glories of heaven, bypassing the messy problems of our mundane world. The other flows down into the Valley of Despair, working to repair and reclaim the victims of a predatory way of life, and to eliminate the causes that make the repairing and reclaiming necessary.

Now, if you were an advocate of "The American Era" (which most industrialists are); if you want America to have her turn at being the "world imperialist" (which we are rapidly becoming)—would you turn radio, TV and the press loose to build up and make famous a minister who has a sensitized conscience and knowledge and will to put on trial the men who plunder the helpless? Would you, a prosperous business man or manufacturer, happily give your money to promote an attendance of 100,000 people to hear such a minister, and throw in the Veep to add prestige?

I do not think you would. It would be only natural for you to find some ministers flowing with the other stream. Men who preach "Get saved!" but who never take action on racial issues, peace, war, economic justice; who tie God's cause to America's foreign policy; who in God's name will damn any man or nation anytime it is politically expedient to do it. With this in mind, one can understand the reasons for the great build-up of Charles Fuller, Norman Vincent Peale, Billy Graham and, on the Roman Catholic side, Father Keller of the Christophers and Fulton J. Sheen.

Thomas R. Rehorn Sr.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

[A Stanford] institute spokesman said scientists had been keeping their findings [on sputnik] secret on orders from the Air Development Center at Rome, N.Y.

No explanation was given for the blackout, but scientists felt the Air Force officers thought they might be able to keep information about the satellite from leaking to the Russians.

—San Francisco **Chronicle, 10/19**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: T. F. San Anselmo, Calif.

It's clear to Asia

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The State Dept. rejected as "totally unwarranted and difficult to understand" Nehru's statement at a Tokyo news conference that "there is no essential difference between Russian troops in Hungary and U.S. troops in Japan and Korea." The spokesman for the State Dept. was unfair to quote Nehru's remark without the reason for it: Korea's indignation and protests during that week American soldiers killed three civilians there, among them two women.

It will not be difficult for one and a half billion Asians to understand what Nehru meant with his comparison.

Ben H. Jones

The global Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I can figure national problems pretty well, but on international policies, etc., only in your paper do I find sense.

Percy Lanson

Farmers' square deal

EDEN, S.D.

Here is a sample of the bait offered by talkative Sen. Humphrey from Minnesota as reported hereabouts: "Senator Humphrey charged that although Spain has been trying for three months to buy 500,000 tons of wheat and 30,000 tons of soybean oil, it has been unable to get a response from Washington. Unless Spain gets help by June 30, it will have to ration bread." While Humphrey cries about hungry Spaniards, the real purpose is to suggest to farmers that closer cooperation with Franco will mean farm exports and better farm prices; and thus farmers get fooled into supporting the whole Dulles foreign policy of propping up dictators and slave-owning kings all over the world.

At the same time, things are getting tougher and tougher for farmers and many are beginning to realize that foreign military spending is for the armament kings and not for farm markets. A real opportunity is developing to reawaken support for the Brannan Plan (which was buried without benefit of a decent funeral by the Korean military adventure). Also, most city people need to understand that the Brannan Plan would give them cheap and abundant food at the grocery store with the knowledge that the farmers are getting a square deal for their labor.

J. B.

Concurrence

CHICAGO, ILL.

We deplore the defiance of Federal law by Gov. Faubus as well as other state and city officials. We concur with the national government for taking a firm stand and urge this vigilance be continued until every school in every village and city in the land be completely integrated.

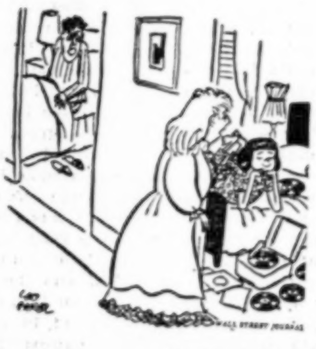
Emma Lazarus Clubs,
Chicago Council.

Wow!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When a Noodnick
Who works behind a plow
Receives his Ph.D.
He turns into a Phoodnick,
And lectures on the cow.
But how can a Phoodnick
Turn out, for everyone to see,
A world encircling Spoodnick—
Holy Cow! HOW!

V.M.S.



Wall Street Journal

"I don't think your father likes to hear Elvis before breakfast."

Are we all in hock?

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Are all these billions we owe owed to various people? I understand something about bonds being issued on which we have to pay interest, but is the whole debt made up that way? Is it actually made up by money handed over by the rich to the government for bonds on which they draw interest? If so, what it amounts to is that the vast majority of us are in hock to these rich bond-holders.

If our debt is so huge now, what will happen when a depression comes? Who will lend money to a government then to increase a debt that is already ten or hundreds of times too large? Isn't the whole thing a phenomenon of capitalism, designed to keep the rich in power and the rest of us in hock? If so, the coming depression, when it really hits, will apparently ruin the whole system in one fell swoop.

Al Amery

Poetic justice

MAYS LANDING, N. J.

In my speech to the Court before being sentenced under the Smith Act two years ago, I said I was innocent of any crime except writing poems. The judge gave me two years.

Now I am informed that the Prosecution—claiming "lack of evidence"—has asked the Court of Appeals to grant my plea for acquittal.

I take it that this is a vindication of my original plea (not guilty of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government) rather than a judicial finding that I am innocent of the crime of poetry.

With this qualification, my thanks to those readers whose support over the past four and a half years helped win my case.

Walter Lowenfels

On Oct. 24, in the light of Supreme Court reversals of Smith Act convictions in California and elsewhere, the government moved in the Court of Appeals for acquittals for two Philadelphia defendants, Walter Lowenfels and Sherman Labovitz, and new trials for the seven others. All the defendants seek acquittal.—Ed.

License for use?

PUEBLO, COLO.

Who is the most sincere about nuclear disarmament — those who want total disarmament or those who want partial disarmament?

Clearly, partial disarmament, with a duly signed pact of "excuses" to gain a sympathetic ear for their use, is but a license for their use!

Paul Stewart

Shoals of pals

BIRKENHEAD,
CHESHIRE, ENGLAND

I'm writing to let you know how impressed I am with your paper and have been for some years. It was some four years or more ago when I wrote to your paper asking for pen friends to exchange progressive ideas and papers with. I have been amply rewarded by the shoals that came in. I've one firm correspondent and three who write every now and then, and for these friendships I wish to thank you.

Lee Parrington

A QUESTION FOR AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE

Does 'all deliberate speed' mean 338 years?

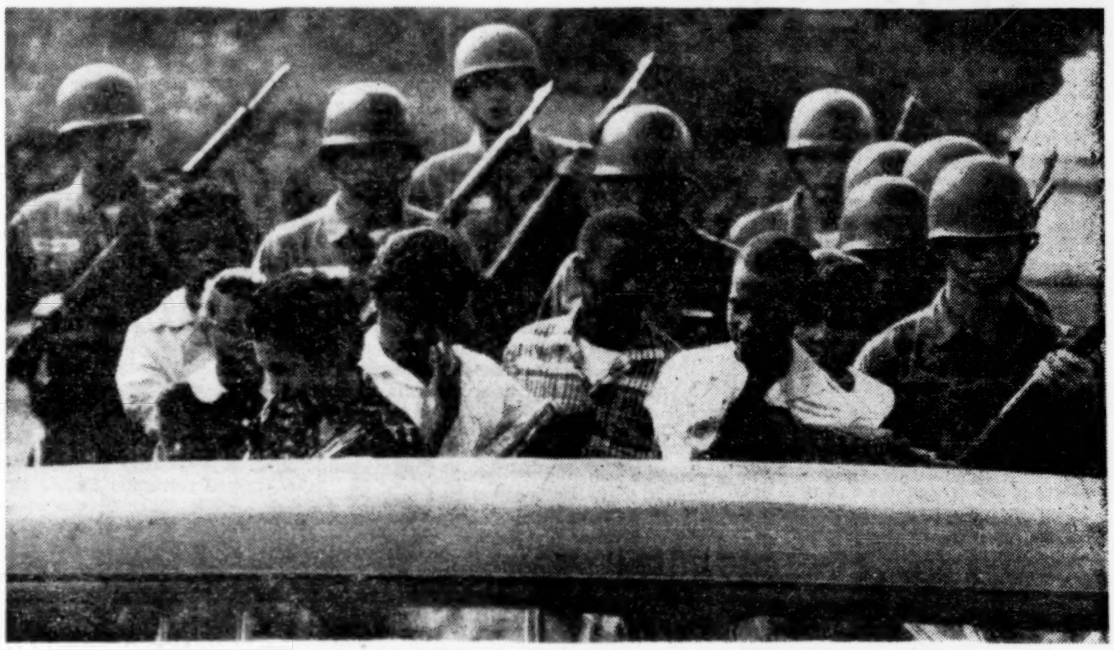
By W. E. B. Du Bois

FROM 1619 TO 1957, the Negro in the United States has been the central thread of American history. In three periods in particular this thread has so entangled itself with the web of our history that the knots have threatened our very existence. They are:

The African Slave Trade, 1774-1808
Negro Slavery, 1850-1863
Negro Citizenship, 1876-1957

These crises—which involved (1) uniting 13 colonies into one nation; (2) Civil War over the powers of the Federal government and slavery, and (3) the status of Negro citizens—we have tried to solve "with deliberate speed," arguing repeatedly that "morals" could not be advanced by legislation. Our "speed" twice became so "deliberate" that we made little or no progress and left to our children an aggravated burden of social reform. Thus our failure to abolish slavery when we tried to stop the slave trade, left the slavery problem to be settled by Civil War. When war freed the slaves, we neglected to make the freedmen citizens and this task now faces us in the midst of a rising colored world. It is difficult to conceive what the result will be if we do not face and settle today the accumulated problems of the last 338 years.

These facts are not clear to most Americans; the story has been distorted by historians to boost our national pride; it has been kept out of textbooks so that children may not learn how evil their fathers sometimes have been.



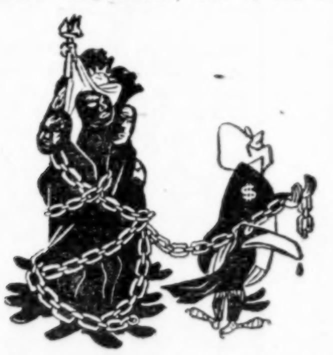
THIS WAS ONE FACE OF AMERICA THAT WAS TURNED TOWARD THE WORLD
The nine Negro students as they attended Little Rock high school under protection

MAY I THEN BRIEFLY RETELL the story of the Negro in America? The war called the "Spanish Succession" should have been designated the war to give England the monopoly of the African slave trade to America. In the 18th century 15,000 Negroes a year were stolen in Africa and dumped on America; many colonies protested, but Georgia, peopled by luckless vagabonds, said: "Negroes are as essentially necessary to the cultivation of Georgia as axes, hoes, or any other utensil of agriculture." They got their Negroes, and today Gov. Griffin and Sen. Talmadge propose to keep them as near slavery as possible.

Other colonies wanted and got Negro slaves, but the mass of Americans regarded this new land as a land of freedom, not slavery, and proposed to unite the colonies, when they escaped British control, into a great democracy. They made a Declaration of Independence in 1776 which said:

> "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

This sounded magnificent, but it did not describe the new nation. That nation proceeded with such deliberate speed to legislate morals that the 500,000 slaves of 1776, whom the signers of this Declaration looked straight in the eye, had by 1860 become 4,000,000, with "no rights that the white man was bound to respect." More than this: these black workers on the free, rich land of the lower South were raising 5,000,000 bales of cotton a year. This had become the basis of a kingdom which was making Southern planters, Northern merchants and British factory owners rich.



Southern leaders now got ideas; they had despoiled Mexico of land and slaves; they had tried repeatedly to seize the West Indies, and they had their eyes now on the Middle West. By counting their slaves as basis of representation in Congress and disfranchising the poor whites, they dominated the nation. But the farmers of the North and workers, native and foreign, also eyed the rich West as the national frontier receded. They demanded "free soil." Not "free men," but free soil. They were quite willing that Negroes should remain slaves in the South, but not on the rich soil of the West.

A small group of Americans, led by William Lloyd Garrison and the free Negro Frederick Douglass, wanted to free the slaves, but the church and business bitterly opposed these fanatics, who were often mobbed and sometimes killed. One of them, John Brown, went West and helped drive slaveholders out of Kansas. Then he tried to free the slaves in Virginia and was promptly hanged.

THE SOUTH NOW DEMANDED the right not only to expand slavery anywhere in the nation but also such guarantees as would allow the slave states to control land, labor and commerce in its territory forever: otherwise the South threatened to secede from the Union. The Republican Party reiterated its promise to protect slavery where it was but refused to recognize the right of secession. Thereupon the nation proceded to settle this dispute by fighting. They killed 500,000 of their young men, destroyed billions in property, and raised a generation of people filled with hate for each other and especially for Negroes.

In the midst of this Civil War, Lincoln repeatedly offered to protect slavery in the South if the South would remain in the Union. The South refused. The war reached a stalemate; then Lincoln was reminded that in the South were 4,000,000 slaves working to support Southern soldiers and protect their homes. If these should help the North instead of the South, the war could be won. By promise of freedom to slaves, Lincoln armed 180,000 black soldiers and used, in addition, over 200,000 black laborers in army camps. Lincoln said that, without this help, "we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks." So when, with Negro help, the war was won, Lincoln declared the slaves "henceforward and forever free."

Then the nation sat down heavily and licked its wounds. It asked what was meant by "free"? Lincoln suggested privately in 1864 that a few Negroes, "the very intelligent and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks," might be given the right to vote. But Lincoln was killed a year later, and a Southern poor white, drunk even while taking the oath of office as Vice President, became President of the United States. He was soon taken into camp by the Southern planters and began to readmit to the Union the seceded states, with "Black Codes" which reestablished slavery in all but name.

Thus the South reappeared at the doors of Congress with 28 more votes than before the war, based on disfranchised freedmen. It proposed not only virtually to restore slavery, but to make the Federal government pay the Southern war debt; lower the tariff on which post-war industry had fattened, and overthrow the Gold Standard by which the North had made millions. This touched the pocket nerve and the North called a halt.

TWO MEN PROPOSED REMEDIES: Charles Sumner proposed to make the freedmen voters with full civil rights, free elementary education, hospitalization and special protection in the courts. Thaddeus Stevens went a step further and proposed giving each Negro family 40 acres and the sum of $50 to provide a minimum of capital for an impoverished group. The nation, with the **Communist Manifesto** ringing in its ears, called this program socialism and refused to enact it. It determined to force the South to modify its plans by enfranchising the Negroes forthwith. Few Northerners expected this to work as a permanent system of government, but after the failure and confusion which they expected to ensue, the South would be prepared to compromise on suitable terms.

Negroes, migrant Northerners, and Southern poor whites thereupon established governments. They restored law and order. They began to subdivide the plantations; they enfranchised the poor whites as well as the blacks; they built roads and railroads; they established public schools and undertook new social legislation. They ran into difficulties; the rich whites refused to pay taxes; Northern and Southern adventurers manipulated public debts and stole railroads, and many poverty-stricken ex-slaves were easily bribed. But the result of eight years of black rule was such that the South began to fear not that the Negro would fail as a voter, but that he would succeed. Thereupon the mob took hold. As the predecessor of Byrnes of South Carolina testified in open Senate:

"Yes, we have stuffed ballot-boxes, and will stuff them again; we have cheated 'niggers' in elections and will cheat them again; we have disfranchised 'niggers,' and will disfranchise all we want to; we have killed and lynched 'niggers' and will kill and lynch others; we have burned 'niggers' at the stake and will burn others; a 'nigger' has no right to live anyhow, unless a white man wants him to live. If you don't like it you can lump it!"

SO NORTH AND SOUTH came to a "gentleman's agreement": the Negro was to be disfranchised and a status of legal caste set up. Strong political, economic and social pressure was put on the Federal courts to go along and they did for 75 years. A nation-wide propaganda to expose the inherent and ineradicable inferiority of the Negro race was spread in college, church, science and literature over the nation. Laws disfranchising the Negro were passed in all Southern states, and inferior schools and civil disability and segregation were forced upon him.

Then in 1905 the Negroes organized and began to fight back. Slowly they beat upon public opinion and then entered the courts. The courts dodged and evaded with every subterfuge, but they faced inevitably clear decisions unless the principle of democratic government was to be completely surrendered in the presence of world war in which we claimed to lead democracy.

Several decisions had raised serious questions as to judicial honesty in this nation. The critical decision came in 1954 when the Supreme Court declared unanimously that race separation in public schools was unconstitutional.

Immediately the South appealed to the mob, and several states declared they would not obey the law. The old slogans reappeared: "States' Rights," which would make civil rights for Negroes a matter of local or even individual option; "Legislating Morality" which was the favorite escape of cowards. Finally even the Supreme Court took a step backward and said the enforcement of the law need not be immediate but could be achieved with "deliberate speed."

AND HERE WE ARE right back to 1776. Seven states where 6,000,000 Negroes live have taken no step toward integration of schools and the governor of one state has used the National Guard to stop integration. Nation and state face each other.

But that is not all: China, India, Burma, Malaya and Africa; the West Indies, Central and South America; in fact the whole colored world, together with the world of socialism and communism, stand asking whether the United States is a democracy or the last center of "white supremacy" and colonial imperialism.

• • •

If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace.—Thomas Paine.

TRIAL DATE DELAYED

Court weighs dismissal bid in Powell-Schuman case

IN SAN FRANCISCO Federal Court last month U.S. District Judge Louis Goodman took under advisement a defense motion to dismiss the sedition case against John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman. The three are being tried on charges growing out of articles which appeared in the **China Monthly Review,** published in Shanghai before and during the Korean War. The Powells were publishers of the **Review** and Schuman was a staff member.

As defense attorneys A.L. Wirin of Los Angeles and Doris Walker of San Francisco made their dismissal motions in court on Oct. 18, in effect they confronted the government with three major decisions: (1) to grant a passport to Wirin validated for China to interview key witnesses who might substantiate the **Review's** stories; (2) to drop the case rather than grant a validated passport; (3) to go ahead with a major political case which, if brought to trial, would result in a wide-ranging review of U.S. policy in Asia during the Korean war.

CONSIDERATIONS: Asst. U.S. Atty. Charles Renda rejected the first two alternatives and indicated willingness to accede to the third. Judge Goodman told Renda "maybe you'll have to make a choice" between granting the passport and dropping the case. "There may be bigger considerations involved than the prosecution in this case," he added.

Renda said that he has been "in contact with the State Dept." and was told that for Wirin to go to China would "only delay the trial" and would be "injurious to the cause of the U.S. and the free world." Wirin and Mrs. Walker argued that the case should be dismissed in view of recent State Dept. actions denying for a second time Wirin's request for a validated passport to China.

JENCKS PRECEDENT: Pointing to the recent Jencks decision, Wirin said the Supreme Court has been increasingly solicitous of the right of defendants to due process. In the Jencks case, he said, the conviction was thrown out because the defendant was denied the right to examine FBI reports used by the prosecution. In the Powell case, Wirin noted, the defense is being denied access to at least 115 witnesses.

The witnesses are said by the defense to have first-hand knowledge concerning statements in the **Review** alleging that the U.S. engaged in germ warfare, committed aggressive acts against Korea and Asia and obstructed the truce talks. Mrs. Walker said the prosecution was guilty of "sophistry and cynicism" in offering passports to newsmen while denying it to a defense lawyer on whose mission depends the freedom of three defendants.

The only reasonably sure outcome of last month's proceedings is that the trial will not start Dec. 2 as originally scheduled. Judge Goodman said that if he decided to go ahead with the trial he will probably set a later trial date.

You and the FBI—know your rights

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N.Y.) has received many inquiries from persons worried about their rights and responsibilities in the event of questioning by the FBI. As a public service, the ECLC last week issued a special statement which helps to clear up much of the confusion. The statement was signed by Harvey O'Connor, chairman, and Corliss Lamont, vice-chairman of the ECLC. The statement follows:

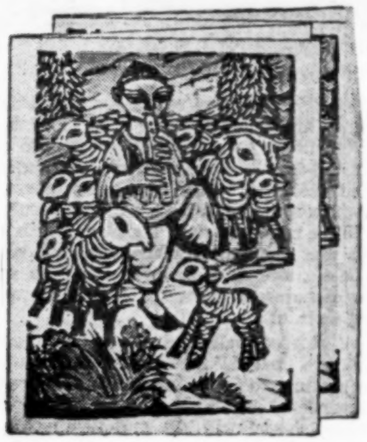
YOU MAY FEEL, as many people do, that you have a moral obligation as a citizen to supply any governmental agency with all of the facts which would be helpful in a given situation, **provided** that neither your rights nor those of others are being violated. It is even possible that the inquiry concerns the application for government employment of someone with whom you are acquainted.

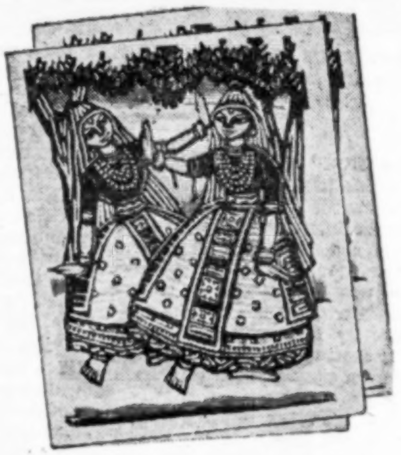
However, you frequently do not know the purpose of the inquiry, and the inquirer would rarely tell you in advance. Therefore, it is important for you to know that you are under no **legal** obligation to talk to representatives of the FBI or of any other governmental agency, unless you have been subpoenaed. The FBI, unlike courts and grand juries, does not have the power of subpoena and of compulsory examination. You may decline an invitation to visit FBI agents or to receive them in your home or office.

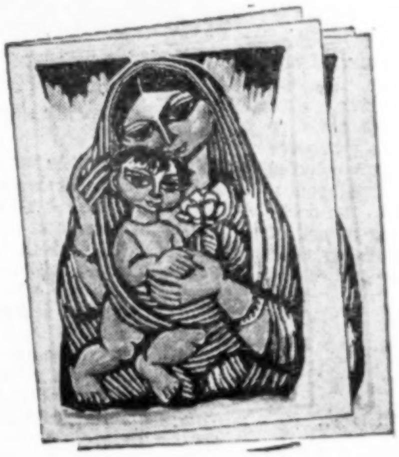
Unfortunately, at the present time many FBI inquiries appear to be concerned with political associations rather than with obtaining facts for constructive purposes of criminal investigation. The very nature of political inquiries means that many of the questions will be of the sort which no citizen is, or should be, required to answer. The protections afforded to you by the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court in recent as well as earlier decisions are as available to you in such an interview as they would be in open court or before a Congressional body. If you have any doubts as to the FBI's questions, do not hesitate to refuse to answer until your attorney has been consulted, or insist on having your attorney present during the interview. You may also ask to have the question put in writing.

IN DETERMINING your responsibility to answer questions, remember that there are no off-the-record conversations with the FBI or any other governmental investigative representative. The agent in question is under a duty to make some report of his interrogation or interview. He may, possibly, be recording the conversation without your knowledge. Be most careful to be accurate. For the obvious reasons of civic duty, morality and personal safety, do not answer questions if you do not have personal knowledge of the facts. False statements, although made orally and not under oath, may be the basis for a criminal prosecution.

Finally, the use of investigative power by governmental agencies to intimidate or threaten is expressly forbidden by law. **We suggest that you report any attempt at intimidation to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.**







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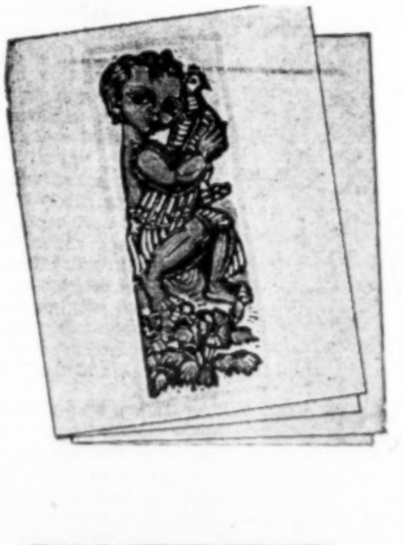

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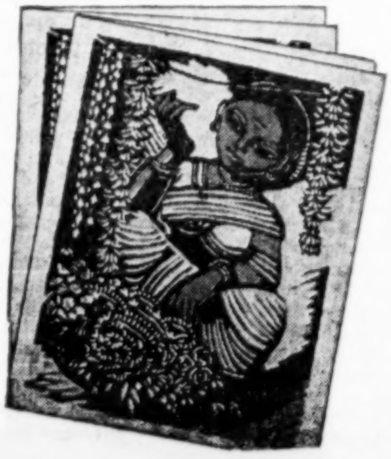


The saga of Bollweevil J. Whitetrash

AS IS OFTEN the case during periods of great tensions the public is inclined to overlook central figures, individuals whose forceful personalities have much to do with the resolution of those tensions.

During the Arkansas school crisis recently, one such figure was generally overlooked. I refer to Bollweevil J. Whitetrash, the man who first stood in front of Little Rock High School's front doors, facing the onslaughts of nine little Negro boys and girls with cool Southern courage.

Whitetrash, with the modesty characteristic of brave men everywhere, protested that he couldn't have saved the school alone, that without the help of those who rallied around him, the cause would have been lost. But those who know him best know it was his indomitable spirit which carried the day.

It was Whitetrash, they pointed out proudly, who kicked the little girl when, with devilish cunning, she sought to sidle through the door while her cohorts were creating a diversionary skirmish midway up the school steps.

Whitetrash, as you might expect, said it wasn't anything that any Southern Gentleman wouldn't do. He added:

"I ain't never been in no school and by grabs I wasn't gonna let her get in neither."

HE WENT ON, detracting from his own role in order to laud the heroics of others who took part in the dangerous foray against the nine children.

"You should have seen Mizzus Beauregard Whuffo stand up to 'em," he said proudly. "Mrs. Whuffo is just a youngin, herself, only about 28 or 29 years old. She was a-standin' there a-yellin' and a-spittin' at 'em just like any pure white flower of Southern Womanhood would have done."

Southern gallantry, as you might have noticed in the news pictures, permeated the entire affair. Gentlemen whose great-grandfathers followed Lee and Jackson stood there undaunted by the fearsome enemy, nine Negro youngsters, and shoulder-to-shoulder, fought to preserve the Dignity of the South with two-by-fours, stolen pistols and butcher knives.

INDEED the modest Whitetrash was telling the truth when he said the victory was a "team" affair, for individual acts of courage were reported from every sector.

When the advancing enemy first entered the block in which the school was located it was young Jefferson Davis Slobb III who sounded the warning, and at extreme risk to own person flung a rock at the nearest Negro child.

He couldn't stop them alone, however, and it remained for the women's volunteer corps, composed of Southern Belles led by Mrs. Whuffo, to slow the advance with ladylike taunts, jeers and streams of saliva.

But if Bollweevil J. Whitetrash hadn't stood there like a stone wall, their bravery would have been of little avail. He was the final breastwork, and they could not pass!

Some day Little Rock's municipal park will be graced with a statute of Bollweevil, his chambray shirt and slouch hat preserved in hardy granite, his stubbled chin thrust forever outward, his great red Southern hands clasped to signify the Great Victory.

—L. T. Anderson in Charleston **Gazette**

Meany & teamsters

(Continued from Page 1)

peared before the executive council to state his union's case, was visibly infuriated by the decision and stalked angrily out of the building. He refused any comment to the press.

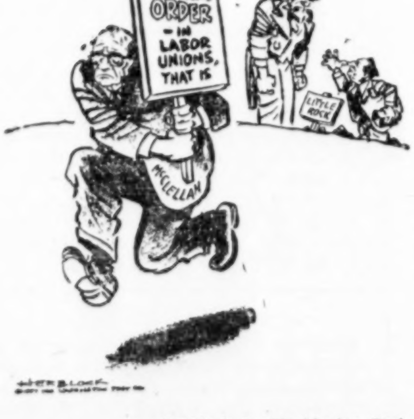
CONDITIONS LAID DOWN: Two conditions were set for the readmission of the teamsters: Hoffa and others named as wrongdoers by the Senate committee must be ousted, and the union must accept the authority of a special AFL-CIO committee to correct abuses cited by the AFL-CIO and to end "all other corrupt influences." Failing this, the teamsters will be recommended for expulsion by the AFL-CIO convention in December. Neither condition is likely to be accepted by the teamsters.

The suspension resolution said of the recent teamster convention, which overwhelmingly elected Hoffa president, that it represented a defiance of the AFL-CIO and that its actions "imply an adherence to the principles of corrupt rather than the principles of free and honest trade unionism."

The biggest union in the country and possibly the most decisive (if it stops, everything stops) was being belted from all sides: the merged federation itself, an anti-labor Senate committee and the Federal courts. With this three-pronged attack, the employers—the union's natural foes—could simply sit back and hope for the worst.

INJUNCTION HOLDS: On Oct. 23 Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts in Washington signed a temporary injunction barring Hoffa and others elected at the recent convention from taking office. The injunction suit was brought by a group of 13 New York teamsters with the free legal services of Godfrey P. Schmidt, head of a blacklisting agency in the entertainment field. Judge Letts held that teamster officials had either arranged or tolerated "a conspiracy to rig" the elections. The injunction is to remain in effect until a court hearing is held to determine if the union should be ordered to hold a new convention and another election.

THE DAY THE TEAMSTERS WERE SUSPENDED BY THE AFL-CIO
James Hoffa (r.) with Teamster secretary-treasurer John English


WE MUST UPHOLD LAW AND ORDER – IN LABOR UNIONS, THAT IS
McCLELLAN
LITTLE ROCK
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post
The Arkansas Traveler

Judge Letts refused, however, to appoint a master in equity to take over the union in the meantime and did not void the convention proceedings as requested. He set Oct. 28 for argument on motions, after which he would set a trial date. But union attorneys appealed his ruling on Oct. 26 and asked the Court of Appeals not only to throw out the injunction but to take the case out of Judge Letts' hands on the grounds that he failed to exercise "judicial discretion" and had abused his powers. The union had hopes that the Appeals Court would hear the case on Oct. 31. In the meantime Hoffa and other officers-elect are barred from receiving any salary or remuneration from the union.

OTHERS FACE ACTION: On another front Hoffa was having his troubles in Federal court in New York. On Oct. 24 Federal Judge William B. Herlands turned down a defense plea for an indefnite delay in trials of Hoffa on wiretapping and perjury charges. Hoffa's attorney argued that unfavorable publicity against his client made a fair trial now impossible. Judge Herlands set Nov. 4 tentatively as the date for the start of the trial on perjury charges against strenuous objection from Hoffa's attorney that he could not prepare his case by then. The defense charged that the court's haste "will look like lynch law; it's almost indecent."

Of other unions charged with violating the AFL-CIO ethical practices codes, the Federation executive council held that the Allied Industrial Workers had cleared itself and its probation was ended; the Bakery & Confectionery Workers and the United Textile Workers were given until Nov. 15 to meet specific conditions or face expulsion; the Distillery Workers were to hold a special convention on Nov. 22 under the eye of a special representative of Meany; the Laundry Workers faced almost certain expulsion for continued defiance.

"PUBLIC LYNCHING PARTY": While labor's top command was meeting on the teamsters, Michael J. Quill's Transport Workers Union held a convention in New York and announced as its basic goal a 30-hour week with increased take-home pay and other benefits—a demand the AFL-CIO as such has not yet generally endorsed.

In contrast to Meany's offer of cooperation with the McClellan committee, Quill called its probe "a public lynching party against trade unions under kleig lights" and said: "I disagree with those in the leadership of the merged federation who say that officials of trade unions should bow deferentially to Sen. McClellan and his fellow-investigators . . . that somehow the committee's word is gospel and its motives above suspicion."

The convention was also critical of the AFL-CIO's stand that the Fifth Amendment is out of bounds for union officials. In response to Quill's call to the delegates to "voice our undiminished respect for the Fifth Amendment equally with every other provision of the Bill of Rights," the convention unanimously adopted a resolution urging the AFL-CIO to "eliminate from [its] code any provision which may tend to reflect adversely on the historic rights and privileges of the Fifth Amendment."

Quill was also scornful of the AFL-CIO's political program and said labor has been "dragged down to the level of a holding corporation for the Democratic Party." He called for the "building of a political party of working people."

475 CLIENTS: Meanwhile the McClellan committee was looking into " the efforts of some of the largest companies and concerns in the country to avoid unionization by improper or illegal means or to make a sweetheart contract with a friendly union by employing the services of Mr. Nathan Shefferman's concern." Shefferman is head of Labor Relations Associates of Chicago, Inc., depicted by the committee as a union-busting organization which once had about 475 clients. The committee seemed equally concerned with linking certain labor leaders with Shefferman as with showing illegal practices by employers.

Congressional foes of labor seemed to be concentrating on a national "right-to-work" law as the first fruit of the McClellan committee's probe. Such a law would outlaw the union shop and undermine the trade union movement. New York Gov. Harriman warned that such a law would "cripple legitimate unions . . . under the guise of cleaning out labor racketeers." Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.), a member of the McClellan committee, said: "I am no longer confident that we can head off a right-to-work provision."

Sen. McClellan himself, speaking before the Mississippi Manufacturers Assn. in Biloxi, said: "There are indications that the proposal of a Federal 'right-to-work' law is gaining strength and support in Congress."

Baran and Neal speak Nov. 22 at L.A. Unitarian Church forum

AT THE FIRST Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, Nov. 22, two outstanding personalities from California's university world will discuss the topic: "Are Democracy and Socialism Compatible?" They are Paul A. Baran, professor of economics, Stanford, and Fred Warner Neal, associate professor of international relations and government, Claremont Graduate School. The program is sponsored by the Unitarian Public Forum, in co-operation with the Los Angeles Independent Forum.

Prof. Baran is the author of **The Political Economy of Growth**, recently published by **Monthly Review Press**. Prof. Neal is an editorial columnist in the **Los Angeles Times**.

SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN CRISIS

Why India still suffers from poverty and misery

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI, INDIA

INDIA'S MOOD appears to be one of cynicism and disillusion. In ten years of independence and five years of planning the common man's lot has improved little. While cabinet ministers and big businessmen journeyed to the U.S. for loans and investments, the Second Five Year Plan was in crisis, the causes and character of which are somewhat different than pictured in press propaganda.

The First Five Year Plan emphasized agriculture, laying the groundwork for the Second Plan. It brought little improvement to the people's living standards, but did register some overall gains: 16 million acres of land brought under irrigation; food and cotton output increased by 20% and 45% respectively; national income up 18%.

The Second Plan originally gave the public sector—the state—a commanding position in the economy by its control of industrial expansion and the construction of a heavy industry base. But, even in its discussion phase, the plan was altered under pressure of Indian big business, backed by foreign interests, notably the American lobby.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE CRISIS: Total outlay was increased but the investment pattern was changed. Investment in heavy and machine-building industry was cut, while that in transport and consumer goods was raised. Continuing pressure by big business further to alter the plan was aided by the Administration's unwillingness to employ physical controls; one result of this is the current foreign exchange crisis.

The original plan envisaged a five-year foreign exchange deficit of 1,120,000,000 rupees (one rupee equals 21 cents), 750,000,000 of which would be expended in the first three years. But the first year's expenditure alone was double the amount anticipated. Increased defense expenditures, forced by growing U.S. military aid to Pakistan, and a natural tendency to underestimate project costs contributed to this situation.

PLAN IS PRUNED: But the basic reasons were failure to control prices, food distribution and imports. This resulted in scarcity, soaring prices, greater food import than planned, issuance of licenses in large quantities for import of machinery for consumer goods industries and for luxury goods. The private sector ran away with what little foreign exchange there was before the public sector had a chance.

The plan, therefore, was pruned, sacrificing heavy electrical equipment production and the fertilizer project. By the heavy use of foreign exchange, private industry will finish its part of the plan ahead of time, demand a bigger role in the economy, obtain more foreign aid (American aid is pledged to private as against public projects) and present a strong pragmatic argument for letting it go ahead. If it succeeds, India's planned economic development will go by the board.

Inflation also threatens the plan by increasing the cost of its projects—as the Left had warned would result from deficit financing without physical controls over prices and finances and without priorities and allocations. In fact, the official report on the plan had admitted that "physical controls and allocations were necessary . . ."

But those in charge of implementing the plan look to foreign aid primarily to avoid the necessity for physical controls. Far from nationalizing foreign enterprises (which would provide resources and take key economic positions out of foreign hands), no effort has been made to enforce income tax payments although two to three hundred million rupees a year are lost through tax evasion.

"HOPE LEVEL" SINKS: The government banks on more U.S. grain surpluses under Public Law 480 to avoid imposing food controls. India, however, needs loans to finance anticipated increases in capital goods imports for the public sector. All Soviet aid is for the public sector and heavy industry.

The "hope level" to which Prime Minister Nehru refers is sinking rapidly with further emasculation of the plan. It is difficult to find the reality behind India's "democratic way to socialism" which, Nehru says, is distinguished by respect for the "dignity of man."

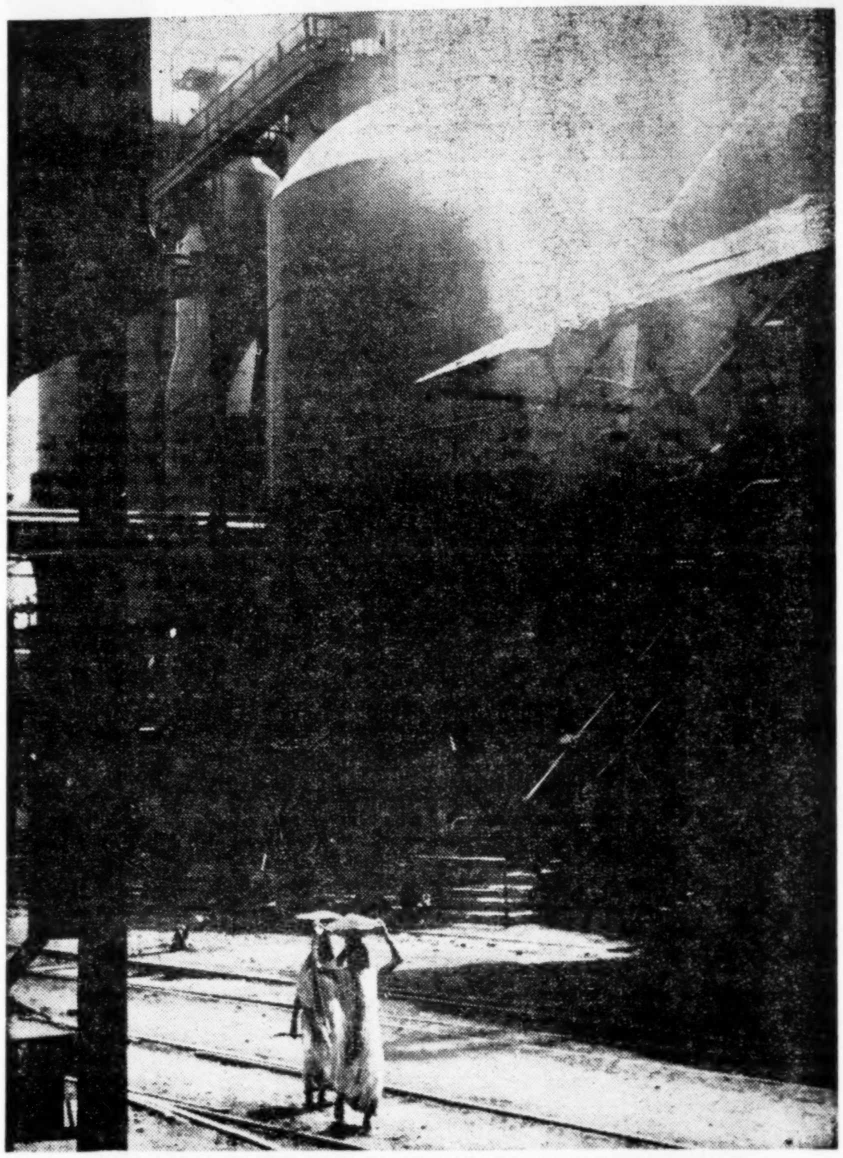
LIVING CONDITIONS: For example, at night thousands of Indians sleep on the pavements of the streets of Calcutta and Bombay. To many millions in villages and cities, streets, store fronts, verandahs provide the only "home" they ever know. Millions live in worse than slums.

In Bombay's Matunga Colony some 20,000 are crowded into tiny shacks of mud, tin, boards or thatch, 8 to 16 in a room inch deep in garbage and (during the monsoon) in mud, lacking drainage and even latrines. A million live in Calcutta's "bustees"—long sheds divided into windowless cells, 8 to 25 in a room.

KENNELS FOR PEOPLE: "One of the best" bustees I visited had two drinking water taps and 32 latrines for 2,000 people. Outside Poona people crawl into what look like oversized dog kennels in which they cannot stand up. The first plan ignored housing, the second admits "shortage in 1961 may be twice that in 1951," but construction of luxury hotels, homes and public buildings boom.

With per capita food consumption lower than before the war, whole regions of India still suffer from chronic famine and people eat leaves and grass during lean periods. Famine is man-made. Godowns in Calcutta are stocked with rice but in the nearby countryside people are dying of starvation. All the Left parties in W. Bengal (who had warned of famine if the government did not build up food reserves) have formed a Famine Resistance Committee to force government action. There have been statewide demonstrations to which landless agricultural laborers have marched as far as 25 miles.

LAND REFORM URGENT: Unemployment—rural and urban—has been estimated as high as 50 million. During the First Plan industrial production rose 50% but rationalization reduced the number of workers. This, plus new entrants into the labor force each year, increased urban unemployment at the end of the plan. The Second Plan originally provided for jobs for the new entrants, but modifications make fulfillment questionable. In man-years, unemployment and underemployment for all India is estimated at roughly 39 million.



THE OLD AND THE NEW COME TOGETHER IN INDIA TODAY
Indian Iron & Steel Co. plant, with blast furnace, at Burnpur

Basic to any solution of the huge problem of rural unemployment is radical land reform. On the books, statutory landlordism may have been abolished, but more peasants have been evicted in the last few years than in the preceding 100. Landlords retain most of their land. Peasant indebtedness has soared.

SERVICE PROJECTS: The Second Plan largely bypasses land reform. Even the highly publicized Community Development and National Extension Service projects, which Nehru claims were revolutionizing the countryside, benefit only those peasants who already have something. The evaluation report admitted: "The majority of the people do not possess even the minimum which is needed to benefit from the new instrument of betterment."

No appreciable progress has been made in eliminating illiteracy, put at 76 to 82%. Free and compulsory schooling for children between 6 and 11 will not be provided until the end of the Third Plan. Pattern of higher education remains as it was under the British, designed to produce junior clerks and civil servants and in fact turning out large numbers of educated unemployed. Implementation of the 10-year-old law against untouchability has been slow.

REFORM FROM THE TOP: Industrial profits in rate and quantity have soared. Between 1950 and 1954 the share of profits in net income from factory industries rose from 58 to 67%, while the share of wages and salaries declined from 42 to 33%. Corruption is widespread, bribes are common to get anything done by a government department.

The people, in short, seem to have no real part in discussing or implementing the Five Year Plans. No one questions Nehru's sincere desire for reform and improved living standards. But his approach seems to be that the reforms should come from the top not below. Popular participation is not encouraged. Implementation is left to the bureaucratic machinery. This helps the dominant Congress Party leadership, which has no sympathy for real planning.

India's Second Plan includes imagination-catching projects, some bigger than the Dneiper Dam, but there is no national feeling for those projects and most people don't know they exist. Yet the Indian people do have a kind of consciousness. They know of China's achievements, have developed a desire and readiness for change. This forced the Congress Party to adopt the goal of a "socialist pattern of society."

SHARPENING CLEAVAGE: But the Congress Party, supported by big business and representing essentially petty landlord and trading interests, is not a revolutionary party. Historically speaking, its main achievement may prove to be that it placed certain objectives before the people and made them conscious of these objectives.

The people take the plan seriously. So does the Communist government of Kerala. If it succeeds even partially, this cannot help but influence India's development. Indian progressives are pushing to implement the plan for they see its collapse opening the door to reaction and to the powerful forces of disunity which exist here. Progressive forces, however, are growing slowly. India is approaching a point of economic cleavage, when struggle over its economic and political direction will certainly sharpen.

Take Kenya, for example

AND ONE final point on this question of imperialism. Since the end of World War II, one-half of the world's population has changed its form of government. To state it simply, this change has involved two things. First, the subjugation by Communist rule of one-quarter of the human race. Secondly, the promotion under British guidance of another quarter of the human race to free, independent and sovereign self-government. If you wish to strike at the imperialist in the world today, I leave it to you to decide where you should start.

—Sir Harold Caccia, British Ambassador to the U.S., in a Chicago speech, June 6, 1957.

Clearly

BEIRUT, Oct. 12—Replying to a question, King Saud [of Saudi Arabia] said: "I haven't seen the Soviet satellite, but it is clearly one of those things men invent every so often."

—London Observer, 10/13

AS ONCE IT DID IN AMERICA . . .

'Opportunity beckons to all' in New China

By Cedric Belfrage
SHANGHAI

"BY LAST WEEK," wrote **Time** on Aug. 26, "signs were piling up [of] deep and abiding policy quarrels in the top echelons of China's Communist Party . . . Dictator Mao Tse-tung, who has sometimes been denounced by Moscow . . . A vast wave of discontent among China's intellectuals . . ."

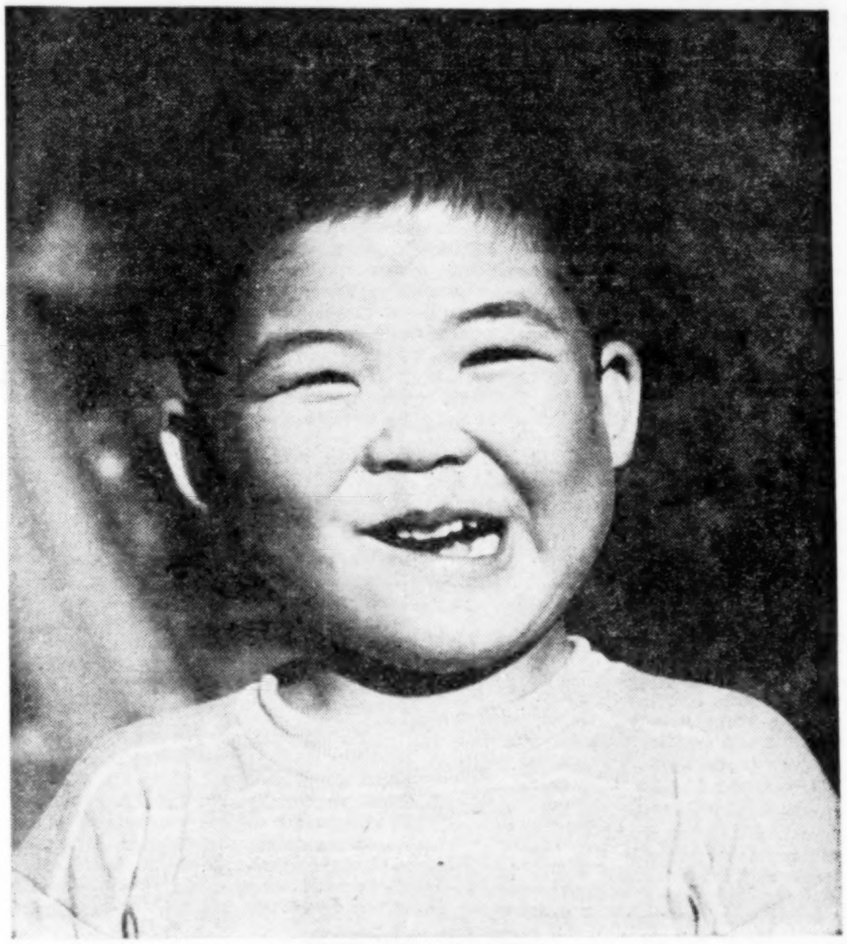
One effect of a six-week stay in China is the realization of all Westerners' profound ignorance about it, certainly rivaling Chinese ignorance of the West. (A peasant recently seeing an American with a **Daily Worker** asked: "How can they publish that in your country? How big are your liberated areas?") But my experience is more than enough to inspire laughter and pity for our wishful-thinking "experts" from Time-Life Building to Taiwan, whence the same nonsense is broadcast between the musical agonies of Elvis Presley.

In fact, no country on earth seems to have a stronger, more united and more popular leadership than China: and this not despite, but because of, the open parading of contradictions in recent months. In drawing conclusions about China's internal stability and relations with Moscow, our "experts" are off the beam because this is a world to which neither their political nor their moral standards are applicable.

NO FLABBINESS: Socialism, say the Marxists, must be established by a worker-peasant dictatorship led by the Communist Party. Countless talks with Chinese on every level convince me that the great majority want socialism and accept this way of getting it. They accept it especially readily because their Communist Party has such a high prestige based on the record. Its achievements are a monument seen and experienced by all, and it has shown no tendency to ossify.

If socialism is to be healthily established—as the ex-idealist philosopher King Yo-lin writes on the "hundred school" policy—it must not "play with principles or apply reach-me-down formulas." Its ideas will "wilt and grow flabby" unless tested in open debate with idealist critics, but if that is done there will always be "more flowers than weeds."

BRASS SHOVELS: China too has its stuffed-shirt bureaucrats and doctrinaires who need reminding of this, but, by and large, its leadership as I have encountered it—from farm and factory to engineering and government — responds to criticism, works extraordinarily hard and is, above all, modest. In factories one sees bigshots shoveling dirt, or doing the lowliest work on the production line under the shop foreman's authority, as they must all now do once a week to keep their feet on the ground. (Some of them still look a little awkward and sheepish about it.) At dinners for state guests which I have attended, Chou En-lai's total lack of pomposity makes you wonder if this is really the Premier of the world's largest nation.



HUCK FINN IN CHINA
He saw the camera looking straight at him in Peking

Chairman Mao—the 64-year-old "dictator" whom **Time** reports ominously to have "not been seen in Peking for six weeks"—is beloved and regarded as a "genius." Recently, visiting a party of young people at Wuhan on the Yangtze, he competed creditably with them in swimming across the mighty river. He is not "untouchable": at one Peking university a wall-sheet criticizing him was stuck up by some student last term; other students, as a mocking gesture, hung a lantern over it so it could still be read after dark.

The fact is that co-operation under this kind of leadership works; and one is reminded that, given a chance, the human animal is not "naturally" an exploiting individualist but the reverse. One finds 400 handicraftsmen, formerly competing in 70 independent outfits, working happily and more efficiently in a shed co-operative. Even the competitive cries in a bazaar are merely from old habit: it is one co-operative which, a vendor explains, "enables the older people to take it easier." This is already the accepted pattern, and no doornail was ever deader than the old order in China.

DEAR DEAD DAYS: How dead it is, one sees best here in Shanghai. Its old "glamor" and what's in-it-for-me, for which Old China Hands may be nostalgic, has all gone: no night life, no beggars, no millionaires, no opium dens, no 12-year-olds offering their bodies or working from dawn to dusk at the special tot-sized looms we used to make for them in Lancashire. Capitalists who previously went about with armed bodyguards against thugs no longer even lock their doors. The "Great World" amusement place, formerly a den of vice, is now jammed with worker families for whom it offers for a dime 18 different shows (plus, when I was there, and after-hours rectification session by the staff in the restaurant).

All that remains of the Western benefactors are the words "Cathay Hotels" on the towels of plush taverns now jammed with Chinese, a faded "No Parking" or "Chrysler-De Soto" on a wall, an "American Corset Co." sign crumpled abjectly on the sidewalk beneath a store that is being remodeled. The white buccaneers' racetrack, arrogantly planted in the middle of Shanghai whose citizens it barred and then jimcrowed, is a people's park cut by an avenue used for liberation parades. Yet nobody scowls at the flag flying high over the British Consulate—the emblem of a nation which shot its way into the city and then prostituted it with opium.

RELAXED BABIES: That was long ago now, and the Chinese see no dividend in vindictiveness. They even pay rent for houses "belonging" to foreigners who fattened on their misery—for example, $1,200 U.S. a month for the vast and (for an individual) vulgar home of Shanghai's former gas and water tycoon. The new owners of this candelabra'd imported-oak-paneled, air-conditioned palace are Shanghai's children, who flock there to play and explore the highways and byways of culture.

This is one of the "pilot projects" operated by Mme. Sun Yat-sen's China Welfare Institute, for study by community leaders throughout China. Others are a nursery teeming with friendly, relaxed babies, whose young director—like most "bosses" I have met—worries about shortcomings and wants "to learn more about the methods in your country"; and a painless, drugless maternity hospital in what used to be a Catholic orphan home. Before liberation most Shanghai women had their babies without even a midwife—often "on the job"—and if a baby survived, it had a good chance of being an orphan. In the poor part of the city, where the population is so dense that only snail-paced movement through the streets is possible, organized maternity care began in a Nissen hut eight years ago. In 1957 midwifeless childbirth is negligible in any Chinese city, rare in rural areas. China's doctors are but one to each 8,000 people, but now they "serve the people" instead of a wealthy clique and mobilize them for preventive and hygienic measures. Thus the centuries of hopeless suffering and frightful epidemics are already a memory.

HUCK AND TOM: Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer, whose paths briefly crossed mine at a remote village temple outside Loyang, made me wonder how long it must take for Westerners to think of Chinese kids as they think of their own. Marching down the dusty road, lost in his imaginings until he was almost upon us, this was Tom to the life—except that he wore thin cotton shoes, and the play he mimed, gesticulated and declaimed to the willow trees was some Peking Opera. And here was Huck advancing from the other direction and whistling to his friend—except that from the pole over his shoulder hung not a fishing line but one of those bamboo baskets which are moving mountains in the new China. The Peking Opera became a double act ribaldly worked up for our benefit and to mock the dignity of our guide, a plump old Buddhist monk, who tried to act as if the gadfly urchins weren't there. The monk said his colleagues were out gathering vegetables in the fields given them by the government.

What lies ahead for the Hucks and the Toms of China, the children of those who did the work and drank the gall since time immemorial? The first thing is that they and their parents have shoes, and that the answer to the proverbial Chinese greeting "Have you eaten today?" has changed from No to Yes. Today a wave of worker and peasant children is surging up through the middle schools toward the colleges, whose students are still 80% of bourgeois stock and 70% male. Eight years after liberation some of these young people are a problem. As a teacher said to me, they are "like vegetables grown in a hothouse; no strong wind or snow ever touched them; they don't know how people suffered in the old society." Very enthusiastic, they "make excessive demands, not realizing how backward China is—why, our national productivity per head is under $100 U.S. a year!"

THE "RIGHTISTS": Confucian hangovers retard the development of initiative and make too many young folk want white-collar jobs and scorn manual labor. Meanwhile on walls plastered stories high with criticisms, and in ensuing rectification sessions, "rightist" students—and professors—have been going through the hoops in every college. Perhaps they are given too rough a time, but it is hardly the classical way of a dictatorship. Since they are opposed by the great majority their ultimate fate, if they don't change, is that their fellows will refuse to work with them in any leading position. Only to open counter-revolutionaries, such as the Wuhan school principal who stirred up a student demonstration for Chiang's return, is no mercy shown.

In China, as once in America, opportunity beckons to all. Its call is exciting in a new way—to pursue happiness by serving and working together. Most of the new generation are talking about big things affecting everyone, and asking "how can we do it better?" If there is a "vast wave" as **Time** says, it is a wave of divine discontent, disciplined by social awareness.

It is another world; and he who is too smug to understand this can only hate it. In any case the insect is a little too large for Mr. Dulles to brush off his brow, even with the help of Henry Luce.

THIS IS WM. P. ROGERS

New Attorney General sees 'eye to eye' with Brownell

HERBERT BROWNELL, an expert on hotel, restaurant and tavern law, resigned as Attorney General on Oct. 23, ostensibly to go back to private practice and make money. His successor is William Pierce Rogers, Deputy Attorney General. At 44, he will be one of the youngest men in history to become the country's top law enforcement officer. He told newsmen that he and Brownell have always "seen eye to eye on all major matters."

Actually Rogers has done all the hard work of the Justice Dept. since he and Brownell took office together in January, 1953. As deputy, he has been the chief liaison officer with Congress; his office was charged with drafting all Department legislative proposals; it was his responsibility to make recommendations on all pending bills; and it was his job to supervise all the Department's major units, including U.S. Attorneys and Marshals.

REMINGTON PROBER: Rogers, a native of New York State, was graduated from Colgate University and took his law degree at Cornell Law School in 1937. In 1938 he walked in off the street and got a job with racket-buster Thomas E. Dewey. He enlisted in the Navy in 1942 and served on the carrier Intrepid which was knocked out of action for a time by Japanese attacks but returned to be on hand for V-J Day. Rogers came out a lieutenant commander and went to work as an assistant to New York District Attorney Frank Hogan, a Democrat.

ATTY. GEN. WM. P. ROGERS
Herb's man . . . Dicky's buddy

In 1947 he was named chief counsel to the Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program and kept the job after Democrats resumed control of it. He had a hand in some of the "deep-freezer" and "five-percenter" prosecutions of the Truman era. He also conducted the investigation of William W. Remington, a government employe convicted of perjury for denying membership in the Communist Party and who was murdered in a Federal prison while serving his sentence. The N.Y. **Times** reported on Dec. 8, 1952: "In this latter case Mr. Rogers acquired his first and continuing interest in the field of government loyalty. He feels strongly on the subject and leaves no doubt that he and the Department will be active in that area."

DICK NIXON'S PAL: He and the Department and Brownell were so active in that area that the Supreme Court overturned the all-inclusive, dragnet loyalty-security program they erected.

Rogers worked with Brownell at the Republican National Convention that nominated Eisenhower. Both were highly successful in challenging Taft-pledged delegates from the South. Brownell was rewarded with the Attorney-Generalship, and he in turn rewarded his helper with the No. 2 job.

During the first Eisenhower campaign, Rogers traveled extensively with Richard Nixon and the two, both the same age, became close buddies. Rogers is credited with masterminding the Nixon TV soap-opera which got the Vice President off the hook when his private fund from wealthy Californians was discovered. When President Eisenhower suffered his heart attack, it was to Rogers that Nixon turned to hold hands and seek advice.

David Lawrence, the ultra-Right pundit, says of Rogers: "The new Attorney General has many friends among Southern members of Congress and has cooperated with Sen. Eastland, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and head of the Subcommittee on Internal Security. Mr. Rogers has been an inveterate foe of communism and has been energetic in helping to root security risks out of government."

BROWNELL'S PLANS: All political dopesters discounted the retiring Brownell's assertion that he has "no political plans," but none seemed certain of what he was up to. The N.Y. **Post's** Robert G. Spivack said he "is going home to New York to run for governor." He saw this as a Dewey-inspired move to control the 1960 New York delegation to the Republican National Convention and surmised that it might be intended to head off Nixon, but he was silent on who might benefit from such a move. There were some who thought Brownell himself might be angling for the Presidential nomination.

Brownell will probably be remembered longest for his charge that Harry Truman coddled spies in government. Asked by reporters which of his achievements he was happiest about, he said: "I feel a great deal of satisfaction that we have restored public confidence in Federal law enforcement. You'll remember the situation was not good." In his letter of resignation to the President he cited, among many others, his goals of "eliminating carelessness and delay in following up on FBI reports and protecting their confidential nature," and "providing maximum protection against the Communist menace in this country."

The Supreme Court has been busy for many months trying to catch up with and rectify most of the Brownell-Rogers achievements in these fields.

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Bachrach memorial Nov. 20

Friends of the late Marion Bachrach are arranging a memorial service for her on the evening of Nov. 20 in New York and would like those wishing to attend to hold that date open. Watch the GUARDIAN for details.

'Fire Dulles' demand

(Continued from Page 1)

by President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan after their Washington conference.

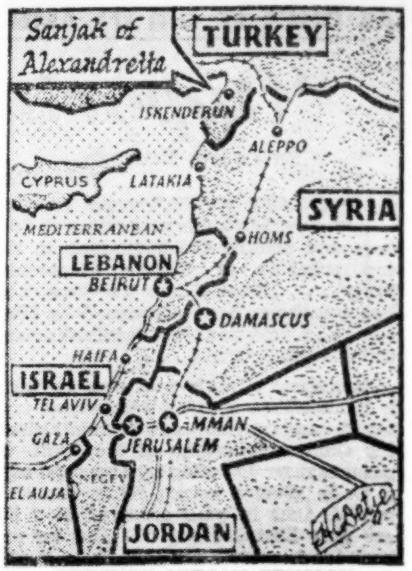
It has been known for sometime, as former U.S. Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray revealed in a memorandum, that Britain and other U.S. allies were using the London disarmament conference to "win from the U.S. an agreement to transfer nuclear weapons to them." This was the primary reason for Macmillan's trip to Washington, since, as Murray had pointed out, "large-scale production" of nuclear weapons "would be prohibitive for the United Kingdom." The Eisenhower-Macmillan communique asked the "free world" to find "progress and safety . . . by combining their resources and sharing their tasks . . ." It was predicted that President Eisenhower would attend the NATO meeting in Paris in December.

TWEEDLE-DEE: While the Republican Party remained under Dulles' spell, the Democrats had nothing better to offer. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, now chairman of a foreign policy advisory subcommittee of the Democratic National Committee, said on Sept. 28 that the U.S. must continue nuclear weapons tests. Although he deplored Washington's dependence on Chiang Kai-shek who "is not going to live forever," Acheson suggested no change in U.S. policy toward Peking.

With bipartisan support, therefore, U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge blandly told the UN that recent reports of "disaffection" in China indicate the instability of the Peking regime. Washington's China policy, columnist Walter Lippmann said, remains "based on the notion that if we ostracize the Peking government, it will eventually collapse, be overthrown or surrender . . . We subsidize a Chinese government in Formosa which can never be the government of China, and is manifestly deteriorating. Because of this fundamentally false estimate . . . our prestige has been declining since long before the launching of Sputnik."

UNREST IN ASIA: While the U.S. remained committed to maintaining military bases directed at the socialist world, anti-Americanism again flared up in Asia. On Oct. 22, as the Colombo Plan (mutual aid organization of S-E Asian countries, Britain and U.S.) members met in Saigon, South Vietnam, three time bombs exploded in front of two U.S. billets and the U.S. Information Service library, injuring 13 American servicemen and five civilian passers-by.

In South Korea, trigger-happy American guards have been shooting at teenage boys and girls at the slightest provocation. They have killed eight Koreans and wounded 15 in the last six months. Korean newspapers, carrying such headlines as "Are Koreans Toys?", said that "indignation is about to reach an explosion point."



TURKISH-SYRIAN TENSION
Map shows Turkish port of Alexandretta and Sanjak District which Syria still claims. Border was the scene of minor incidents for years.

THE "DOCUMENTATION": There was no indication of change in Washington's Middle East policy. As debate continued in the UN, the situation deteriorated ominously as reports were published implicating the U.S. in a coup against Syria.

Both the London **Times** and the **Manchester Guardian** (10/23) quoted extensively from a Paris **Le Monde** report of how Moscow might have obtained documentation it said it had of a planned Turkish invasion of Syria. The story was written by **Le Monde's** Middle East expert Eduard Sablier, "one of the most respected of French journalists." It was all but blacked out in the U.S. press.

During a recent visit to Turkey, Sablier said, he learned that the Soviet naval attache and his aide were expelled by Turkish authorities for indulging in "certain espionage activities." At the same time, Baghdad Pact anti-subversion committee members gave Sablier "the extraordinary news that the American diplomatic bag had disappeared [from] the small boat carrying it between the European and Asian shores [just as] four years ago a boat carrying important American documents . . . disappeared in the same place and under the same circumstances."

Sablier said he believed the bag contained an account of the talks between Turkish Premier Menderes and U.S. envoy Loy Henderson, and had reached Moscow through the expelled naval attache. He believed this was the "irrefutable proof" of Turkey's aggressive intent against Syria to which Soviet CP Secretary Khrushchev referred. The State Dept. ridiculed the **Le Monde** report.

CLOAK-AND-DAGGER: While the **Le Monde** report was far from conclusive, the N.Y. **Post** said (10/17): "We may well have clumsily given the Syrian regime evidence of U.S. collaboration with the Syrian exiles now on Turkish soil."

Fred Sparks reported from Ankara (N.Y. **World-Telegram,** 10/23): "Democratic elements are plotting a change [in Syria] in the same way a pro-Communist government was changed in Guatemala. It is hoped they will succeed—soon . . . It is essential for the allies to avoid direct involvement . . . Turkey also tries hard to avoid visible involvement . . . The cloak-and-dagger business functions best without press agents."

NO ALTERNATIVES: Arriving in the U.S. for a lecture tour, British Labour Party leader Aneurin Bevan called Washington's policy "sterile," asked for a "more positive policy" toward the Middle East, including the acceptance of the Soviet Union as a party to any solution to that area's problems.

But, as the N.Y. **Post** said, "the trouble is that we seem to offer no positive alternative to the deepening deadlock" since Dulles "quickly turned down" Gromyko's offer to "neutralize" the area by "banning the shipment of arms from either side."

Last week America's frustration seemed to be settling down for a long dreary winter.

In the path of Sputnik

We're not panicked, as some people are, over Soviet Russia's mass production of scientists and engineers; have a feeling that most of them will turn out to be merely mental robots who can't think for themselves.
—Editorial in **N.Y. Daily News,** 10/23.

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WASHINGTON, Oct. 21 (UP)—Presidential Assistant Clarence B. Randall today dismissed Russia's earth satellite as a silly bauble and said he was gratified the Russians had beaten the United States into space.
—N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 10/22.

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An elderly lady in Independence, Cal., recently complained of stomach distress. When asked if she knew what caused it, reports Lucile McNeil, she whimpered "It's that Russian thing!"
—**Los Angeles Mirror-News,** 10/19.

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MONROE, Oct. 16 (UP)—Local planners admitted they were reaching for the moon today in their search for "something new and different" for the city's annual Christmas parade.

They want the event to be a two-Nick affair featuring Saint Nick and "Sputnik."

In a telegram to the Russian Embassy in Washington, parade chairman H. R. Johnson requested that the satellite "Sputnik" pass over Monroe "at 3:00 p.m., Nov. 29, in a southeasterly direction during our . . . Christmas festival parade."
—Raleigh, N.C. **News and Observer,** 10/17.

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I am amazed at the manner in which our so-called American newspapers depict the Russians as such great intellectuals to launch the first satellite. If the Russians are what the papers say they are, then why haven't the homes in that country been supplied with modern plumbing?
—Letter in Los Angeles **Herald-Express,** 10/21.

THE SUPER-COLOSSAL SQUANDER

Those dreadful TV commercials

By Elmer Bendiner

AMERICA HAS PRODUCED a market for composers who can write music for full symphony orchestras running 60 seconds or less; for actors who can inhale tobacco smoke like mountain air; for announcers who can breathe sex into a refrigerator door; for scores of talents eager to be abused for that minute-colossal, the TV commercial.

A new Hollywood has grown up in New York for the production of commercials, with some 200 producers now in business. It has the madness of the palmy days of Hollywood plus Madison Avenue's own particular flair. The squandering of talent is impressive. For instance, to produce the one minute in which a girl has half her head lacquered, these are the persons actively at work in the studio:

Producer, director, camera man, his assistant, grip (who handles scenery and the dolly), prop man, electrician, gaffer (electrician's helper), sound engineer, mixer, boom man, sound camera man, stock man, home economist, script girl, script writers, advertising agency executives, sponsor's representatives, two actresses (one to be sprayed, the other whose hands might be seen spraying) and a make-up artist.

SEX, SNOB AND GRAB: Before the final shooting in the studio there have been endless conferences between sponsor and agency, agency and producer, producer and director. Agency script writers have prepared what the new art form calls "story-boards," a series of frames, as in a comic-strip, detailing the precise action of the piece, its setting, the dialogue, each word carefully selected to lend the product dignity or sex, to catch the snob or the common man, to creep up on the viewer or leap down his consciousness before he can switch the set off.

The story-boards are examined by a score of technicians, revised and budgeted. If the script calls for music, composers are commissioned (at $2,000 or more) to write scores for coffee-pouring or beer-guzzling or car-door-opening. The music is usually put on tape in separate studios before the shooting.

ALBUMS
MUSIC FOR WRITING COPY

Advertising Requirements, Chicago

BEAUTY PARADE: Casting is arduous in the production of super-colossal commercials. Recently when a girl was needed for a 10-second spot appearance, 80 actresses applied. For two days they were paraded in bathing suits under hot klieg lights before camera men, advertising agency executives, the sponsor and producer. Periodically the flannel-grey suits went into huddles to debate what type would look good north and south, east and west, would please men, not antagonize women, would keep the TV set on and sell.

Another time a boy spent a day pretending to delight in a breakfast food. Madison Av. spent hours considering his one fatal flaw: one of his eyebrows was higher than the other. They broke for lunch and returned to study his eyebrows all afternoon. Actors, when they make the grade, get $70 for a working day but frequently make much more on a royalty basis, collecting every time the commercial is flashed on the screen.

SMART YOUNG FELLER: Children are popular on commercials. The trade paper **Advertising Requirements** told the story of a three-minute commercial for General Electric in which GE's project supervisor Charlie Keenan explained the value of casting a 10-year-old as an appliance salesman: "He's got audience appeal. He's got a likeable face—wholesome. The audience puts itself in the boy's shoes. They say to themselves, 'If that kid can understand it, so can I'."

Before the shooting day in the studio, prop men go to work gathering the most photogenic table cloths and cutlery, assembling decorative carafes for coffee-pourers. Artists retouch labels on packages to imprint them indelibly on the mind of the viewer.

Crises are inevitable in any production. The home economist is the highly necessary trouble-shooter for a food commercial. He is part of the sponsor's staff who knows hidden aspects of the product; for example, the precise amount of ketchup to pour over spaghetti in order to achieve the sauciest effect. One crisis occurred when a boy in the process of relishing his spaghetti lifted a fork-full to his smiling face. He let long strands drag downward. The director shrieked: "Cut." Spaghetti strands must not dangle in a mess, the sponsor had warned. The home economist drew her scissors and calmly snipped the wayward spaghetti, then wrapped the remaining strands snugly about the fork. The boy on cue lifted the tidy fork-full to his mouth without a slurp.

DUST IN YOUR EYE: Beer does not always foam on cue and is a problem to directors. After an actor had done scores of takes reciting a little blurb cheerily, then downing his glass, the foam problem in one studio threatened the whole production. The quick-thinking director scooped up a handful of dust and tossed it into the beer which then foamed nicely. The actor dutifully grinned, blurbed and drank. When the sponsor saw the rough print of the film he said he didn't think the actor seemed to be enjoying it. He was persuaded to okay the production by a chorus of his aides assuring: "Boss, he loved it."

When coffee had to be poured in time to specially composed music in one studio there was trouble because the cup was never filled to the brim on the proper musical cue. The director finally ordered the bottom caked with plaster-of-paris to raise the level. The toothy smile of the man who drank it neved wavered on camera.

The final film is often previewed as bigger productions are. Madison Av. agencies sometimes corral their elevator men and cleaning women to watch their commercials. Then they probe for working-class reactions.

THE ANIMATED ONES: Some producers specialize in animated commercials which are no less elaborate. A one-minute animated blurb requires roughly 1,450 drawings. After the artists do the drawings, crews of outliners and inkers go to work on it. Frequently commercials mix live people and cartoons or spice the work with what the trade calls "opticals": setting prosaic objects to somersaulting in the air, vanishing or otherwise intriguing the viewer with medicine-show magic.

AD AGENCY
OUT TO A SUCCULENT, MOUTH-WATERING LUNCH
-ALI-

Advertising Requirements, Chicago

The cost of all this hocus-pocus whether live or cartooned, is enormous. A one-minute commercial might cost $5,000 to $9,000 to produce. A 10-second spot might cost $4,000. The advertising agency tacks on another 15 or 20% commission. Air time is all extra. It varies widely. WCBS-New York charges up to $1,500 a minute; KNXT-Los Angeles, $800; WLW-Columbus, Ohio, $175.

All this money and talent go to create the fleeting minute it takes a man to yawn, reach over and turn off the set.

BOOKS

Pearl Buck's translation of 'All Men Are Brothers'

NO ONE KNOWS who wrote this book.* It was set down by a Chinese scholar in the 14th or 15th century but its story was told all over China for hundreds of years before then. It had been frequently suppressed. It was said to be so "evil' that a curse was laid upon its suspected transcriber, running to the third generation. Imperial edicts sought to stamp it out forever.

In 1933 Pearl Buck translated it into English and called it **All Men Are Brothers.** She noted in her preface then that the Communists had just issued a new edition of the work and called it "the first Communist literature of China, as suitable to this day as to the day it was written." It had been out of print for many years, but last month a new edition in English again made available one of the world's "dangerous" books.

WONDERS OF MAN: Other nations have produced sagas and legends in which a people's character may be seen in the gods the people create in their own image. But in this work the Chinese refer to the gods only by way of embroidery.

The wonders and weaknesses of men and women are the stuff of these legends. It tells how 108 men were driven by the evils of society into outlawry, how they set up a robber's lair on a mountain in the midst of a lake.

The "dangerous" quality of the book lies in its profound respect for the outlaw, the "criminal," the man who in a moment of passion or out of abiding principle breaks with corruption and takes up arms against it. These are not knights-in-armor. They are plain people, many of them. And their common denominator is that they could not abide some injustice. As outlaws they rob and kill, as a rule, only the corrupted—rich or otherwise. Most of them live in constant fear that by mistake they may kill a "righteous" man.

A COLORFUL CANVAS: In the course of showing the various ways men are driven to outlawry, all of medieval China is painted gaily, lustily, engrossingly. It is as hearty and as warmly colored as a Breughel canvas. It has in it teeming markets, mean back alleys, great palaces, prisons, libraries, temples. It has drinking trenchermen, farmers, priests, beggars, scholars, all appearing in a sequence of high adventures.

Some have compared this work to the Japanese classic **The Tale of Genji,** but that deals mainly with the court. **All Men Are Brothers** deals with all mankind. The brotherhood it preaches, however, is perhaps less inclusive. It is, as one of the characters describes it, a brotherhood "of honorable good fellows and great criminals." The rich are deplored when they are not plundered. As the narrator remarks: "If one has money one may associate with the gods. This is a true saying but what a misfortune it all is."

BAMBOO, ROCKS AND QUAIL
Painting by Jen Po-nien (1840-96)

One man, forced into exile because the lecherous son of a high official has an eye on his wife, says when he reaches the lair: "I have not come for silver but to seek happiness." The happiness they find is comradeship in a good fight.

SPARKLING STYLE: Pearl Buck says that she translated the work so as to preserve the style and flavor of the Chinese. It is hard to know whether to credit Pearl Buck with fidelity to a masterful original or with her own elegant creation. The style, in any case, is deft, sparkling and rich.

Miss Buck said in her 1933 preface that some editions have tacked on an epilogue describing the downfall of the robbers, "the evident purpose having been to remove the novel from the field of revolutionary literature and end it with a moral to suit the governing class." She chose the original edition which ends with the robbers binding themselves in a great brotherhood to battle for the right: "On that day did they all mingle blood with wine and drink it and when they had drunk themselves to mighty drunkenness, they parted." E.B.

* *ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS, translated by Pearl S. Buck, Grove Press, Inc., 795 Broadway, New York 3, 1,279 pp., 2 vols. $12.*

What page do you read?

The [Russian] broadcasts insist the United States is egging on the Turks and has offered the help of the U.S. 6th Fleet, now widely dispersed after engaging in joint maneuvers with Turkey earlier this month.

—Pueblo (Colo.) Star-Journal, 10/21, Page 1.

The [Navy] source said fleet commander Vice Adm. Charles R. Brown is operating within strictly defined limits of eastern and western longtitudes which keep all elements of the atom-ready fleet at least 20 miles away from the Syrian coastline.

—Same paper, same day, Page 10.

The issues in the Sobell Case

On Oct. 27 the Washington Post & Times-Herald *printed a letter on the Sobell Case from Malcolm Sharp, professor of law at the University of Chicago. Prof. Sharp, who was associated with the late Emanuel Bloch in the later stages of the defense of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, is the author of* Was Justice Done?, *an analysis of the Rosenberg Case. His letter follows in full.*

THE GOVERNMENT'S answer to Morton Sobell's petition to the Supreme Court for review of an unfavorable judgment was filed Oct. 10. On Oct. 12, reports of David Greenglass' brief testimony on sky-platform espionage on the part of the Rosenbergs, once co-defendants with Sobell, began to appear in the press.

On Oct. 14, a **Look** article, based on a book in preparation by a Department of Justice lawyer, summarized the Government's old case and some of the discussion it has produced, and added some new observations. On Oct. 15, a witness in the Abel case, under questioning by a Government lawyer, testified that in 1955 he had been instructed by his superiors to approach Mrs. Sobell to spy, but had failed to do so.

The timing of these news items and their attribution to former and—more striking — present Justice Department prosecutors, indicates extraordinary conduct by lawyers representing the Government as a party to controversy now before the Supreme Court. The conduct differs markedly from that to which it may be compared: the efforts of Sobell's wife and his friends, but not his lawyers, to win support and financial aid for his defense.

Moreover, the news items tend to mislead the public. The sky platform testimony, whatever one may think of Greenglass' other testimony, was incidental, implausible and clearly explicable, as the defense explained it, by reference to a conversation about then current popular science articles.

The two significant new observations in the **Look** article are erroneous. The possession of cash by Greenglass does not itself connect Rosenberg with espionage at one point or arrangements for flight at another, and so does not "corroborate" the accomplice witnesses in any sense related to the issues of the case.

PROF. MALCOLM SHARP
The facts stand out clearly

Elitcher, on whose testimony about non-atomic espionage the conviction of Sobell depends, was not protected by the Statute of Limitations against prosecution for false statements when he first talked with the FBI in 1950, nor did he or his lawyers think he was, as the record clearly shows. His earlier admitted false statement was made in 1947; and, furthermore, he continued to draw Government pay on the faith of it until the summer of 1948.

Finally, the testimony at the Abel case, though it is hard for Mrs. Sobell to test it, bears a clear mark of undependability. As reported in the New York **Times** on Oct. 16, the testimony is that instructions were issued from Moscow "in the spring of 1955" to enlist Mrs. Sobell as a spy. Apart from other doubts based on Mrs. Sobell's record, it is impossible to suppose that any Russian concerned with espionage would have considered her, with her husband convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and in prison, a suitable person to engage in espionage.

It may be hard for a reader not familiar with the Sobell case to follow these observations. It has, however, proved impossible to state their meaning fully in any reasonable space. It is hoped that they will encourage readers to study the history of the case independently.

Grave misconceptions have resulted from the association of the case against the Rosenbergs with the case against Morton Sobell. Judge Frank, in the Court of Appeals, himself dissented from the judgment against Morton Sobell on the ground that the association was improper and prejudicial. Mr. Sobell's case may best be examined as Judge Frank originally thought, by itself.

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J. BRACKEN LEE, former Governor of Utah, and Harry Braverman, an editor of the **American Socialist**, will debate the merits of capitalism vs. socialism at the Eugene V. Debs Forum, Tues. eve., Nov. 12, in the Masonic Temple, 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago.

Tickets for the debate are 90 cents and can be obtained from the Eugene V. Debs Forum, Room 504, N. Wells St.

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FORTY YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
Speaker: **William F. Warde**
Saturday Nov. 9, 8:15 P.M.
1702 E. 4 St. Los Angeles, Calif.

Minneapolis

"THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM"
Hear Murry Weiss, former editor of "The Militant" and "The International Socialist Review," speak. Sat., Nov. 9, 8:30 p.m., at Room 201, 322 Hennepin, Minneapolis. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

San Francisco

"MARXIST THOUGHT TODAY"
Speaker: **Prof. Paul A. Baran,**
author, "Political Economy of Growth"
Chairman: **Adam Lapin**, journalist
Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m., at 150 Golden Gate Av. Donation: 50c. Auspices: Independent Socialist Forum of San Francisco.

Hear **HARVEY O'CONNOR, ADRIAN SCOTT.** Chairman: **Harry Bridges. Fri.,** Nov. 22, 8 p.m., Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Topic: "The Sobell Case: 2 Points of View" Tickets—Rm. 302, 345 Franklin or UN 1-1334. Donation.

Bay Area, Calif.

MAUD RUSSELL speaks on "Current Issues in the Mid- and Far East." **Sat., Nov. 23, 8:30 p.m.,** at home of Shirley & Richard Weinerman, 701 Hancock Way, in El Cerrito. Guardian benefit
Sunday, Nov. 24, 2:30 p.m., at 3936 Canon Av., Oakland.

New York

Sun., Nov. 3, 8:15 p.m.
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DR. OTTO NATHAN
Karl Marx and Contemporary Capitalism —"Cyclical Instability in Present Day" at 9 P.M.
Wednesday, November 6
DR. BARROWS DUNHAM
400 Years of Philosophy—"17th Century —A New Concept of the Universe" at 7:15 p.m.
KUMAR GOSHAL
The Changing Face of Africa & Asia— "Indonesia" at 9 p.m.
Thursday, November 7
F. G. CLARKE
Trends & Leaders in Communist World— "Khrushchev and the 'thaw' at 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av. (nr. 10 St.) Rates $1.50 per session, Students $1. For further information call GR 3-6264. Sponsor: SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM.

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Nov. 8—THE NEW CLASS by Milovan Djilas. Reviewer: Tim Wohlforth.
Nov. 15—THE POWER ELITE by C. Wright Mills. Reviewer Michael Harrington.
Nov. 22 — CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM by John Strachey. Reviewer: Shane Mage.
Nov. 29—THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM by Theodore Draper, Reviewer: Bert Deck.
Dec. 6—THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG by John Wexley, Reviewer: Gil Turner.
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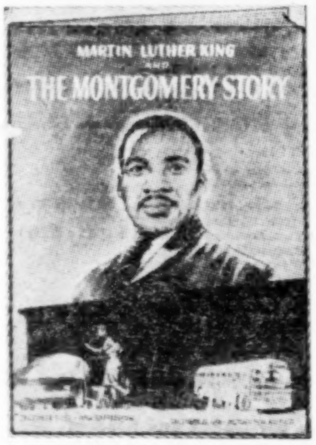
APOLOGY

For confusion resulting from error in address of party for Sobell Fund which should have read 113 St. instead of 13 St. We regret annoyance caused.

THE GALLERY

A 16-PAGE "COMIC-BOOK" entitled **The Montgomery Story** will be off the press in January. It is being drawn by the Al Capp organization (at cost or less), conceived and scripted by the Fellowship of Reconciliation—with a financial assist from the Fund for the Republic. It will carry a one-page biography of the Rev. Martin Luther King, 10 pages on the Montgomery crusade, told first-person by a fictional participant, two pages on Gandhi and the "Montgomery Method," two more on the virtues of non-violence. Initial printing: 250,000. Price: 10c a copy. Groups can buy at wholesale rates. Address: Fellowship Publications Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.



AT 7:30 IN THE MORNING of Oct. 31, a group of shivering girls was scheduled to appear in bathing suits on Pier 45 of New York's waterfront. A committee of longshoremen was to look them over, choose the best-looking who would be designated "Miss Shape-up" and receive a $50 U.S. Savings Bond. The point of the performance was to call attention to Universal-International's new movie, **Slaughter on Tenth Avenue** (opening at the Astor Nov. 4). It is described as a "potent expose of waterfront conditions" which may be rough but do not presently include dockside shape-ups, male or female.

SOVIET PLAYWRIGHT Yuri Krotkov last month addressed an open letter to producer Mike Todd in the pages of the Soviet magazine **Literaturnaya Gazeta.** He suggested they get together on a colossal movie featuring a Russian sailor Ivan Chizhov, a U.S. infantryman John Smith, Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, Alexander II, Lord Palmerston, Napoleon III, Generals Grant and Lee and Rear Admiral Popov. The letter cited Russian aid to the Union cause in the Civil War but added: "It would not be a picture about the Civil War in the U.S.A., since it would be absurd for Russians to suggest that you make such a picture. It would be a picture about the friendship between the ordinary simple folk of Russia and America . . . So now it's up to you, Michael Todd." The letter was written before Michael Todd held his Madison Square Garden brawl for 18,000 simple folk in evening dress.

THE NEWLY-FORMED HARLEM CONCERT LEAGUE will present Gounod's **Faust** at the Elks Theater 15 W. 126 St., 8 p.m. Sunday, Nov. 10. (Subs. $1 and $1.50). The League, composed of musicians, actors and people who are interested in both, has sections dealing with concerts, opera and drama. The drama group is planning a performance of **Uncle Tom's Cabin** for Negro History Week. League offices: Hotel Theresa, suite 122 . . . Vincent Riccio, who got close to the "gang" problem by living with Brooklyn's toughest juveniles and winning their respect as a Youth Board "field worker" will be a guest on **Nightbeat** (WABD—New York) Fri. Nov. 8, at 11 p.m. . . . Bishop Fulton J. Sheen has retired from TV "in order to devote more time to my first duty which is to be a beggar with a tin cup in my hand for the poor of the world." He suggested his withdrawal from what he called "the lights of television to the shades and shadows of the Cross" might be temporary for, "as the retirement was dictated by spiritual consideration, so will be the moment of return." In the past the Bishop has been sponsored by Admiral TV and Ronzoni Spaghetti.

A CRISP, THREE-STEP reason for opposing H-Bombs is given in the **Bulletin for Atomic Scientists** by West German physicist Prof. C. F. von Weizsacker: "(1) The big bombs fulfill their purpose of protecting peace and freedom only if they never fall. (2) They will not fulfill this purpose if everybody knows they will never fall. (3) Because of this, the danger remains that some day they really will fall." . . . Another German scientist, Dr. Werner von Braun, formerly of Hitler's rocket corps now a U.S. citizen in charge of the Army's outer space researches, appeared over WPIX-New York in a documentary he made in 1955. He was telling a group of army, air force and navy brass how the U.S. would set up its space station 1,075 miles up. He stressed its advantages as a military reconaissance post and a platform from which winged bombs could be guided directly to their target.

PRINCE PHILLIP, WHO DABBLES in science as Victoria's consort Albert did before him, narrated a lucid TV program on the International Geophysical Year last week. In it a Swiss glaciologist showed the differences in the layers of ice which each year accumulate on a glacier. For example, he said, the 1945 layer showed a remarkable boost in radioactivity. It was the year of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The ice since has grown hotter . . . Still without an American publisher is the latest book by Simone de Beauvoir (whose **Mandarins** became a best seller). It is **The Long March** a first-hand view of China.

THE HUGE SUCCESS of the album, **The Weavers at Carnegie Hall,** which has been on **Variety's** best-seller list for weeks, has spurred Vanguard Records to issue a sequel. **The Weavers on Tour.** Recorded during a 1955 tour, the record includes 21 ballads, work songs and hymns, with the audience frequently joining in. The record will have living-room audiences swelling the chorus. List price, $4.95 but available through GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE at $3.95 ppd.

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- The Boll Weevil
- Talking Blues
- I Don't Want to Get Adjusted
- The Wreck of the "John B"
- So Long, It's Been Good to Know You
- Michael, Row the Boat Ashore
- Two Brothers (The Blue & The Grey)
- Ragaputi (Indian)
- Wasn't That a Time
- Go Tell it on the Mountain
- Poor Little Jesus
- Mi Y' Malel (Hebrew)
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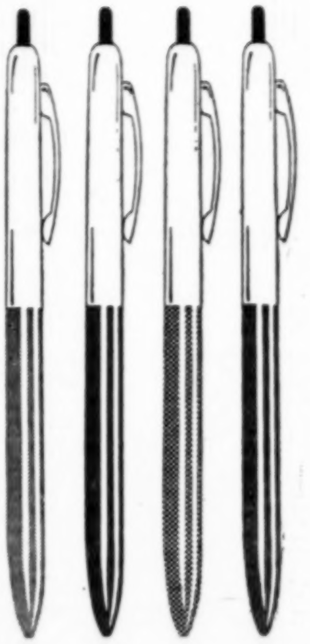

We don't say that these pens are better than any other. But we claim that they are as good as the pens that sell for $1.69 each.

These are handsome, slim, sturdy ballpoint pens with retractable point. They take any standard refill.

Sold only in sets of four. A set includes pens with black, blue, red and green bodies. All have blue ink only.

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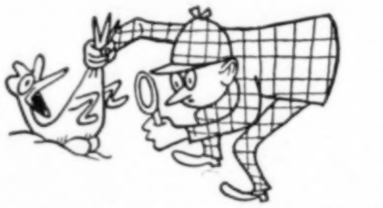
the SPECTATOR

Campus snooper

ON FRIDAY, Oct. 18, there was a street meeting—everyone was there. The speaker, Bogden Denitch, spoke about the Syria-Turkey crisis. He is a Socialist.

It came to the attention of a few persons attending the meeting that a young gentleman, happy faced and clean cut, was wandering about through the crowd, carrying a briefcase. The briefcase had a little hole in one end of it. The man had one hand stuck down inside the zipper of his briefcase and he kept fiddling.

Pretty soon the man began attracting all sorts of attention. A couple of people even pointed and giggled.



This apparently embarrassed him very much so he went away. One University student who was very curious followed the man. The student said that he walked down the street to a Ford car and put his briefcase inside. Then, according to the student, he took a camera out of his briefcase and came back toward the crowd that was listening to the socialist speaker.

THEN HE STARTED taking pictures of everyone around. A **Daily Californian** reporter approached him and inquired:

"Excuse me, sir, why are you taking all those pictures?"

"I like to take pictures, it's my hobby."

"Why did you have your camera in your briefcase before?"

"I had my books in the briefcase. Is that all right with you?"

"Are you a student?"

"No."

"Why are you here?"

"I told you, I like to take pictures."

"Why doesn't your car have any registration, and how come you have a police radio?"

"I didn't come in a car, I came by streetcar."

"But we saw you put your briefcase in a car—it was a federal car wasn't it?—and we saw you take . . ."

"Did you touch that car?"

"Why? Is it your car? We thought you came by streetcar."

"I did—the car belongs to a friend of mine—did you go inside or touch anything?"

"What difference does it make? It's not your car."

"What's your name?"

"We didn't touch anything. We want to know why you were taking pictures through your briefcase at first, and why you put your briefcase in a federal car."

"Mind your business."

"We're sort of interested in what security agents do. Would you give us an interview?"

"No."

Then the man left. When he got to his corner he started to cross the street to the car. But he saw that some students had followed him, so he crossed the street in the opposite direction and got on a bus going west.

SOME THOUGHT that maybe he was from the Burns committee. (The Burns committee is a California state investigating committee. They generally investigate for subversion. The legislature gave the committee $50,000 this year to go around to college campuses.) The Burns committee is scheduled to come to this campus sometime in the near future.

TASC (Toward an Active Student Community), a student political party organized last semester, condemned "photography of or taking names of observers of Sather Gate street meetings by public or private agencies for the purpose of discrimination against those individuals as a violation of rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly." The resolution was passed at the TASC meeting yesterday.

"Can't we even listen to a speech anymore without being watched?" one student asked.

—**Pat Lynden**
in the **Daily Californian**, student daily
of the University of California at Berkeley

Guardian parties in Bay Area in Nov.

There will be three Guardian parties in the San Francisco-Bay Area during November. Maud Russell, noted lecturer and writer, will speak on "Current Issues in the Mid- and Far East" at the home of Shirley and Richard Weinerman, 701 Hancock Way, El Cerrito, on Sat. night, Nov. 23; and on Sun. evening, Nov. 24, at 3936 Canon Av., Oakland.

There will be a party in San Francisco on Sat., Nov. 16. Watch for further details.

There will be refreshments and entertainment at all parties and admission is $1.

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